/108/

115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

[191] [464] [829]

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 156 554 In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he dresses like a white. Several times when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The [302] beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

• 129 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and [132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can [262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during [154] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given [262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

1: Nachtigall--30 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/163 cont./

389 822 829 [439] The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production, the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them, and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 389 [237] [283] /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used, filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string. The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koētes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatōn), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256/). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 [441] [437] 439 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/202 cont./

461 villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[624] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwĕčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but
461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

4:Bernal Villa--17 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

/190 cont./

them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
777 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871 them remain."
829

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

4:Bernal Villa--19 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/191 cont./

829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems
[648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs.
[669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian
[579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/199 cont./

388 43 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the only industry among the Calderas people that brought them monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound; nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no 388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness. Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

389 829 648 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes from a fat man, they say, fattened expressly for this purpose. He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum; lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason, they do not want to send their children to distant lands where the white man lives. They believe that they would be used to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians in order to obtain gunpowder."

389 439 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the fiuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

/223 cont./

members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciémaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, fiundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.